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The Commonweal

December 2, 1949

German Vacuum

Waldemar Gurian

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Program or Approach:

A Policy Statement

VOLUME LI

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NUMBER 8

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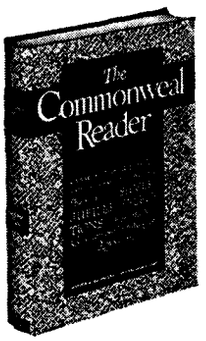

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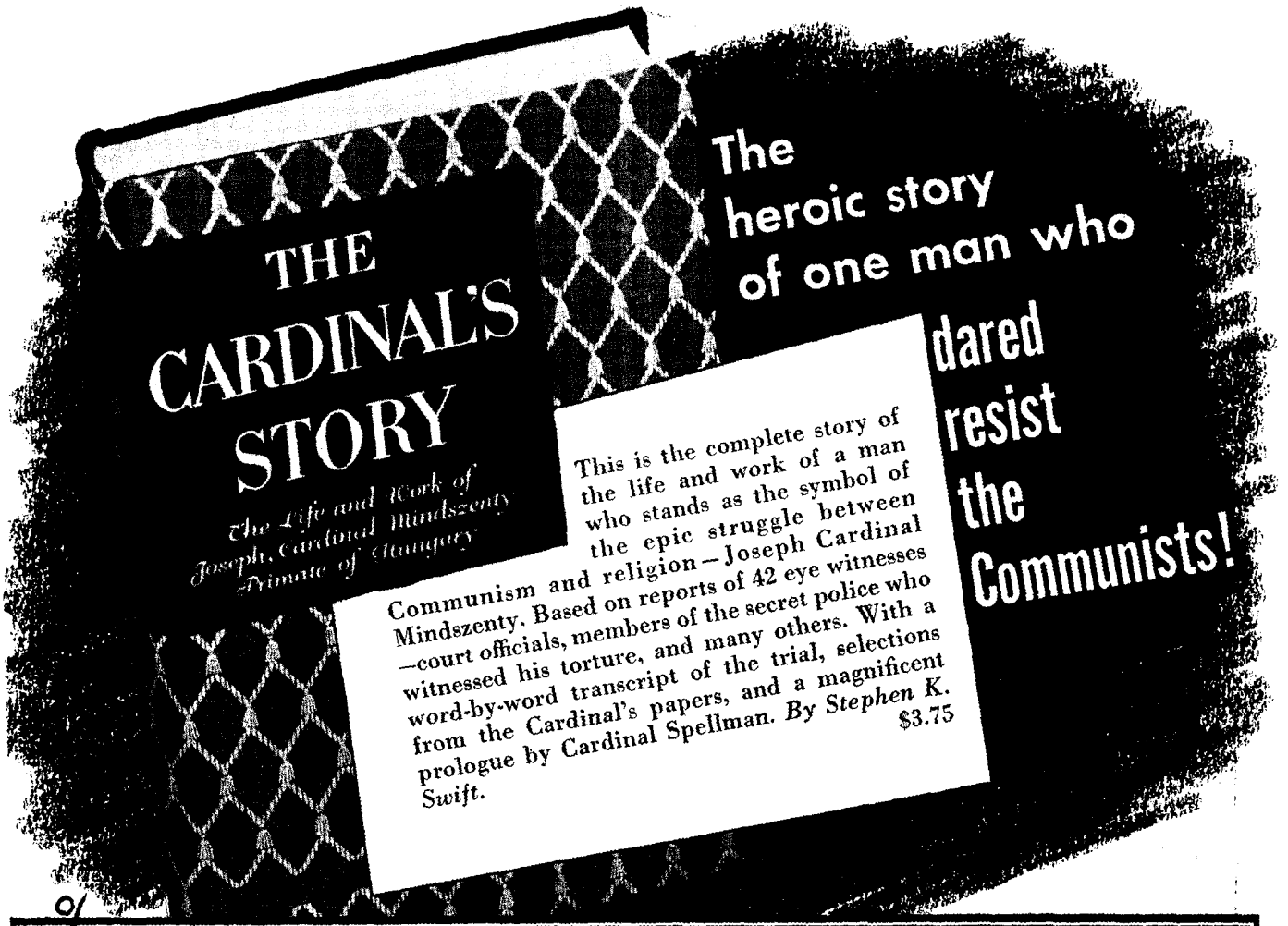
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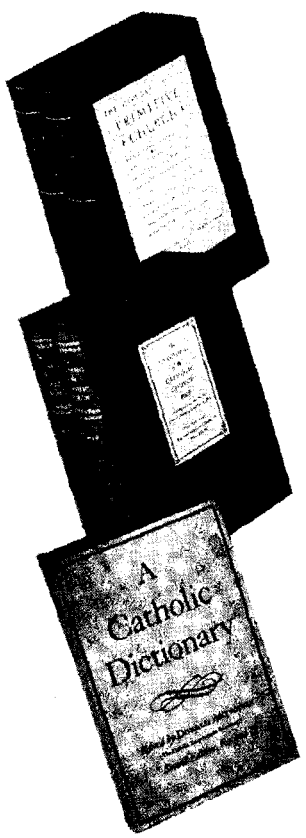

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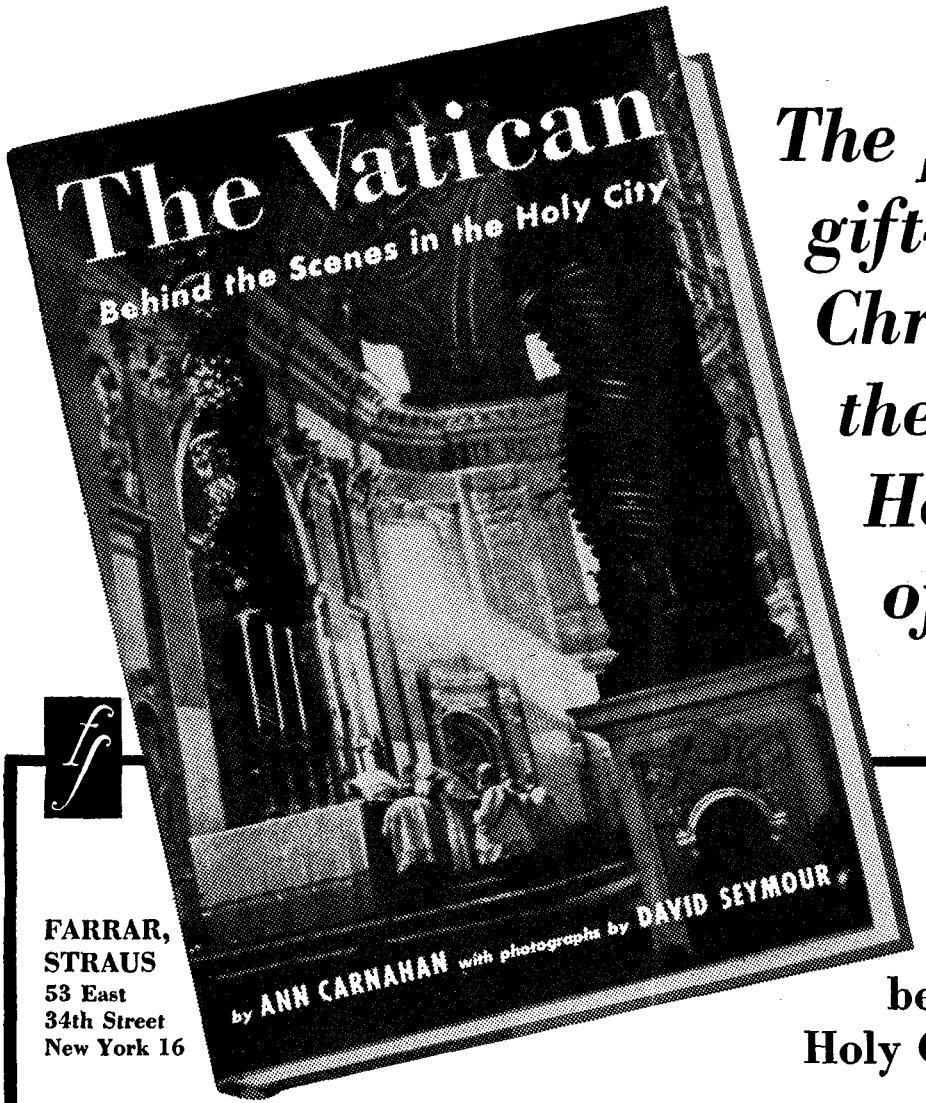

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The Commonweal

COMMONWEAL STATEMENTS

I. Program or Approach

THIS YEAR THE COMMONWEAL completes twenty-five years of publication. The editors present here the first of a series of policy statements reviewing what this magazine has stood for in the past and stating its position on some important current issues. This first statement is concerned with the function of THE COMMONWEAL as a journal of opinion.

A magazine like THE COMMONWEAL tends to go in one of two directions. Either it concentrates on a *program* or it emphasizes an *approach*. The first type of magazine frankly promotes a political party or becomes the organ of a movement. There has never been a Commonweal Movement nor has the magazine at any time become identified with a political party. It has tried to speak independently for those people who approach events and ideas with a thoughtful and Christian mind.

Since 1924 a sequence of mean, sometimes monstrous events has confronted those who face their world with the consistent principles which are the basis of an approach. The Wall Street crash, the long years of depression, Roosevelt and the revolutionary New Deal, the rise of Hitler and Mussolini and their companion totalitarians in Europe and Asia, the Spanish Civil War, World War II, the atom bomb, United Nations, the cold war, the current division of minds over the welfare state. These events of a quarter century have presented and continue to present complex, often baffling questions for a weekly review to evaluate.

In examining events and ideas, THE COMMONWEAL has been working essentially for the extension of social justice and for the protection of the human person in a period when he is threatened by impersonal, inhuman bigness, by machine-like institutions of government, industry, education and propaganda. The struggle for social justice, or the common good, with which we have been primarily concerned, began as a fight for a living wage, yet to be won for many workers, and developed later into a campaign for the right to organize unions, a right still denied to many. Now, in the postwar continuation of the same struggle, demands for industry-financed pensions and social insurance are being won and, concurrently, the American worker is pressing on the federal government itself for additional social security. As he does so, he involves himself and everyone else in the controversy over a welfare state. If, at this point, THE COMMONWEAL wants to make sure that the worker and the individual citizen can keep control over this evolving institution, it is because we hold still to what the editors wrote several years ago: "our social purpose has been called 'personalist' and this is to express the priority of human beings over property and institutions."

But neither social justice nor personalist independence can be realized in the United States so long as racial and religious prejudices deprive men of their livelihood, or of adequate schooling, or of a decent place to live. Nor can either one be achieved without the active cooperation of the various religious and political groups in a pluralist society. THE COMMONWEAL has tried steadily to work with those who have and cherish tolerance for each other.

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AS IN domestic affairs, so in assessing international relations the editors have held to the same two social and personalist objectives. Full employment, distribution of wealth and a condition of general prosperity in this country depend on the existence of similar conditions in foreign countries. THE COMMONWEAL has spoken against dictators, whoever they are, since it feels that whenever one man is deprived of some of his rights as a person, all men stand to suffer for it.

Appraising these issues, national and foreign, THE COMMONWEAL goes by no blueprint, it has no cure-all formula to offer. Its approach does mean taking sides, favoring this and opposing that. This editorial approach rests on, and is shaped by the convictions the magazine has. It holds that man is an inviolable person with an immortal destiny, that God created the world and the goods in it for the well-being of all men, that man cannot live as though his city on earth were a final and materialistic end in itself, and that revealed and rational truth has provided man with a meaningful view of himself and his civilization which is embodied in the Christian tradition. THE COMMONWEAL believes that the ideas, events, opinions, fads and whims of the day must be seen as either fitting into, or disordering this Christian tradition. For this reason, the magazine has given careful attention to the ideas and tone of our culture as found in current books, in the press, in movies and plays. Believing that a large part of its function consists in finding whatever meaning there is in its surroundings, THE COMMONWEAL has not backed away from American life and culture, which it hopes to influence.

It is in this spirit, with the intellectual, physical and moral needs of man-as-a-person in mind, that this magazine approaches and reviews the world before it. In the COMMONWEAL STATEMENTS to follow, the editors will express their views on current issues, with the intention of affirming what this approach means in terms of immediate realities.

WEEK BY WEEK

Revisions Called For

WITH THE success of the Chinese Communists, the Far Eastern policy of the United States falls naturally into two parts: our dealings with China itself and our relations with the rest of Asia. Japan is important in the second sphere, which also includes India, southeast Asia, the East Indies and other Pacific islands adjacent to the mainland.

After four years of occupation Japan's postwar rôle remains uncertain. Our interest in building up a bulwark against Soviet Asia conflicts somewhat with the determination of the Filipinos and other liberated peoples to keep a former aggressor under restraint. The question of a peace settlement is further complicated by the divergence of views on this and other subjects between Russia and the United States.

In the meantime the Japanese people must live and some signposts of their economic future must be erected. The American diagnosis is that Japan's economic assets are industrial skills and plentiful manpower; natural resources are wretchedly few. Accordingly, the occupation authority has been seeking to rebuild Japan as a buyer of raw materials and a seller of manufactured goods.

General MacArthur's economic adviser, Joseph M. Dodge, a banker from Detroit, has been pushing a policy of reduced government spending, a balanced budget and other austerities. This tactic gave some promise for a time, but devaluation of the pound and other currencies has knocked it edgewise. The latest figures reveal that Japan's total trade is 35 percent below calculations.

The Japanese Management Association, an able group of unpurged younger executives blames trade losses, unsold goods and growing inability to meet payrolls upon occupation policies. It asserts that the program recommended by Professor Carl S. Shoup of Columbia to overcome a 20 per cent tax delinquency reflects a "faulty grasp of actual conditions." It calls for a reversal of Mr. Dodge's policy on equipment loan credit. It requests immediate release of export stockpiles to check the black market and provide working funds for industry. Otherwise the only remedy is drastic currency devaluation.

In an area where population exerts such pressure on resources, this is no idle patter. For one thing a desperate, impoverished Japan without fruitful and stable relations with its neighbors would prove a liability rather than an asset in the Far East.

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"What Can Happen to You?"

MOST AMERICANS like to think that no matter what a foreign visitor to this country may say or think about us, we can take it. Taking abuse from visitors with an air of nonchalance is, in fact, considered a national trait. Over the years, Europeans, principally, have come here and gone home again bearing word that life in the new world is mostly mad, vulgar and culturally sub-standard. Usually, this sort of thing has just rolled off Americans.

It would be too bad if the word that Prime Minister Nehru of India took home with him—which was neither abuse nor high praise—should roll off Americans so easily.

He invited his countrymen not to pass off the United States as "materialistic," saying they should "judge not by appearances but by something deeper. I could not conceive America's tremendous advance without the spiritual factor underlying it."

Well, unwittingly, this remark reflects more favorably on Nehru than it does on the United States. While he was here, Pandit Nehru's eyes did not pop out at the sight of our industrial riches. He was looking for something else. He was, it seemed, trying hard not to be moved by all this material power. At one time he said: "Possibly he (the man who possesses many valuables) might be a more comfortable man if he didn't have them . . . We rejoice in not having the atom bomb." And in this context he spoke of Mahatma Gandhi: "He just went about telling us, 'Don't be afraid. Why are you afraid? What can happen to you?'"

Although, as he said of India, "in the terms that the world measures the nations of today, we are weak," Nehru went about as no beggar in this country. And it seems entirely right that he did not. For he showed himself, by his humility, by his reverence for the values and riches we have often abandoned, and by his quiet insight, to have given us more than we can return.

Curt, Confused

THERE was a time long ago when an obscure man could be set off from his fellows for an hour of brief glory because some Caesar spoke his name, a gracious queen smiled on him, or because he felt the healing hands of a Saint. That was the distant past, but even today there is such a thing. Nowadays it is to "make *Time*." Every week of the year it happens to a handful of hitherto unknown citizens. The mere account of a man's accomplishments or the quotation of a phrase from his lips in the Weekly Newsmagazine is enough to add lustre and far-flung extension to whatever standing he had in his own little world. The man who has "made *Time*" has had his moment, no doubt about that.

Last week such a moment came to a District Judge named Luis Armijo, from "heavily Roman Catholic Las Vegas, N. M.," who said, anent the Pope's address to the Italian jurists: "I may be a Catholic, but I'm a citizen of the United States first."

Judge Armijo, if he really intended to say what he seems to have said, has something like a genius for missing the point. In 14 short words, he managed to distort the meaning both of what it is to be a Catholic, and what it is to be a U. S. citizen.

Being a Catholic is not something like belonging to a tennis club, a membership that can be put aside whenever it becomes embarrassing or inconvenient. It involves such things as personal conviction, belief and conscience. When a man is a Catholic (or a Methodist, a Theosophist or a Holy Roller, for that matter) it should be because he couldn't be anything else and remain true to himself. Obviously that comes first. And the judge as a responsible American jurist should know it comes first.

The real glory of being a citizen of the United States is that it always comes second. Whether a divorce-hating Catholic, a religion-hating atheist, a war-hating conscientious objector, what a man himself is, is primary. It is on those terms that he has U. S. citizenship. An American goes to church or stays home, listens to Truman on the radio or shuts him off, goes to war or to a C. O. camp. So our laws are framed; so our beliefs are set; so goes our dearest tradition. Being a Catholic (or a Protestant or a Jew) comes first. That is what being a Catholic (or a Protestant or a Jew) means. Being a citizen of the U. S. comes second; for that, Judge Armijo, is what U. S. citizenship means.

"Separate but Equal"

A YEAR ago the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People brought legal action against King George and Gloucester Counties in Virginia for failing to provide the "separate but equal" school facilities required by law. The school boards of the two counties made gestures towards equalization, but when the NAACP sued again, the Gloucester school board was held guilty of contempt of court and given a period of grace to try again to equalize.

In May of this year, after unhelpful citizens had refused a bond issue for a new Negro high school, the court fined the county school board members $250 apiece. King George County voted $150,000 for a new Negro school, and the NAACP began legal action in other counties.

The principle of segregated schools is now to be ruled upon by the United States Supreme Court, which has held in the past that states may regulate their own schools. This time it will con-

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• NEXT WEEK •

"Albert Schweitzer is one of the most celebrated personalities of our time. As a Protestant theologian, as a musician and an interpreter of Bach, as a missionary and physician in the jungle of French Equatorial Africa he has excelled in many fields at a time when most men are specialists."

In "Schweitzer, the Philosopher," Max Fischer evaluates this active man's ideas.

sider the implications of the Fourteenth Amendment in making its decision.

The fact that Negro schools throughout the segregated South are almost universally inferior to the white schools shows the states to be violating their own law. Georgia is the latest to be embarrassed. Negroes in Irwin County are suing for "equal" schools. The state government has decided (with what Ralph McGill of the Atlanta *Constitution* temperately calls "great lack of wisdom") to defend the situation. Obviously the state government has found itself with the terrible necessity of either defending the untenable, or doing the unthinkable—consolidating Negro and white schools. Seriously fulfilling the thus-far evasive "separate but equal" provision is entirely too expensive.

Southern states now put a higher percentage of their income into schools than do states in any other part of the country. The prospect of governments with the low revenues of the Southern states supporting two good *equal* systems is fantastic. Economics may yet convert those who defend segregation; economics will at least severely try their resolution.

Legal actions such as these make the sort of unrelenting pressure that must be exerted against racial laws. They have the great advantage of spearing the segregationist on his own adjective.

City Slums

DR. LEONARD A. SCHEELE, Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, has reprimanded six American cities for putting up with slum districts which "should cause real indignation": Birmingham, Cleveland, Denver, Hartford, Los Angeles, Washington, D. C. Slum by slum he cited the ravages of tuberculosis, insanity, infant mortality, juvenile delinquency and venereal disease. Dr. Scheele further delivered anyon of complacency by reporting that death rates for communicable diseases in the nation's blighted areas are as high as they were at the turn of the century.

Perhaps the brightest relief to this dark picture is the concern over slums recently aroused in a number of cities. Newspapers have taken the lead in such centers as Chicago and Newark. Baltimore has a Slum Clearance Committee which has worked out an inexpensive plan, which it believes can enable any American city to clean up its slums in fifteen years. The cost of reconditioning and of maintaining housing in good repair is borne principally by the owners of these properties, while taxpayers contribute but six cents per capita. A lot of havoc can result in fifteen years in the unregenerated dwelling units which remain, but the rehabilitation of 12,000 of them in three years at such slight public expense should challenge all city housing officials.

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German Vacuum—1949

There is no way back to the past; a price must be paid for the last decade

Waldemar Gurian

DOES GERMANY resemble the mythical bird which rises again to new life from his ashes? After the collapse of the Third Reich in 1946 it seemed that Germany would remain prostrate forever. Since the currency reform of 1948 German production has risen again in an astonishing way. After the disappearance of Hitler and the Third Reich, the impression prevailed that Germany would remain an object of world politics, completely dependent upon the will of other powers. In 1949 the United States and the Western powers on the one side, the Soviet Union on the other side, compete to gain the support of the Germans. After the armies of General Eisenhower had crossed the Rhine and the troops of Marshal Zhukov had stormed Berlin, the belief was held that there would be no German military power for generations. Today we note that discussions are conducted about West German participation in the defense of Europe, whereas the Soviet masters of the Eastern German Republic, their satellite, have organized a strongly disciplined police force as a thinly camouflaged army using many German officers.

How did these changes come about? A most important factor causing them is the rift between East and West. The Soviet Union tries to get control over all Germany by flattering German nationalism, by emphasizing the necessity of a unification of Germany—of course under her control, though that is not stressed by her propagandists—and granting forgiveness to Nazis and supporters of Hitler's regime. The West, under American leadership, is anxious to prevent Germany falling into the hands of the East. Therefore, a policy has been accepted and carried out piecemeal, step by step, which reverses the original attitude of the war years and the first postwar period: the past sins of the Third Reich are no longer mentioned, the western zones have been united—finally even France joined the Anglo-American bizonia. More and more powers and rights were given to the Germans, first to the Laender; and finally general elections were held in Western Germany, from which the Western German Republic originated. The rise of this republic meant the end of the Military Government, its replacement by an occupation statute under the administration of three High Commissioners.

Western German relations have today reached a stage where it becomes unavoidable to abandon completely a policy of controlling Germany. You cannot start a policy recognizing German sovereignty and at the same time deny German self-determination through vague general controls given to the High Commissioners. The High Commissioners have undermined their prestige and authority by disagreements among themselves, such as that which occurred when it became necessary to devaluate German currency and the French and the American commissioners opposed each other. Maintenance of controls is bound to defeat the policy which was started by limiting controls. It will become more and more difficult to apply them, to impose them upon a reluctant German administration which knows that force will not and cannot be used. Concessions which are given piecemeal and reluctantly are without effect. They appear as involuntary results of pressure and create a hostile atmosphere, or at least favor those German groups which claim that the attitudes of Vansittartism—in which all Germans are victims of their black historical record—and the Morgenthau Plan continue to prevail.

It is even doubtful if the *Economist* goes far enough in its editorial proposal that all controls be dropped with three exceptions—prevention of rearmament, maintenance of security for the civil cupying forces, and civil rights. How can civil rights in Germany be enforced from the outside? Will intervention take place if they are violated? Will the decision when and how they are violated be taken out of German hands? Should our eyes be closed to cases of violations, then a mentality which does not take the controlling powers seriously at all is exalted. If one has started to restore German sovereignty then the only possible policy is one which makes control in Germany part of international controls. The control of the Ruhr

Waldemar Gurian, editor of the Review of Politics *and Professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, spent the summer as guest lecturer at several German universities.*

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production, for example, must then be extended to other industrial centers outside of Germany. German rearmament—which cannot be avoided after the policy of the Atlantic Security Pact has been accepted—can be limited only by putting it under international authorities which also will have a decisive voice in the armament policies of other powers. This approach may reduce the fears of Germany's neighbors, particularly of France, though it will be very difficult to make them disappear completely. A wise American policy cannot be determined exclusively by the necessity to regard the USSR today as the potential Enemy Number One and to use Germany as an anti-communist ally, but it has to take into consideration the fact, too, that the front against Russia numbers powers which are not as easily inclined as the USA to forgive and to forget, for they have suffered directly under the onslaught of Nazi conquest and Nazi rule.

But on the other hand, after the policy emphasizing the necessity of building up Germany has won out, it has no meaning if it is realized gradually and slowly, with pauses, excuses and hesitations. Boldness is necessary, an abandonment of all controls with the exception of those safeguards which will maintain occupation forces as long as there is danger of Russia taking over all Germany, and as long as Germany does not have enough force to make such Russian aggression a too risky and costly affair.

★

GERMANY IS A MYSTERY not only for foreigners, but also for Germans themselves. There is in Germany not only one but many national traditions. There is the tradition of the old Holy Empire, with its federalism, its multiplicity of states and absence of a strong centralized authority. There is the Prussian tradition, which cannot be identified with Hitler's totalitarian tyranny, but which is based upon the strong authority of the state, with the army and bureaucracy at its service. There is the tradition of the liberal bourgeoisie which was enthusiastic about the rise and development of Bismarck's Reich, and which became jealous about Germany remaining behind England as a world and naval power. There is the democracy of the Weimar Republic which regarded the defeated revolution of 1848 as its ancestor, and did not dare, in trying to avoid force, to act energetically against its enemies, particularly against those who claimed to be nationalist minded.

There is the Nazi movement which, by putting the masses in motion through extreme nationalism reconciled them with militarism, and was therefore, for a time, regarded by the conservative-reactionary élites, the industrialists, the generals and civil servants who disliked the Weimar Republic, as a tool for the destruction of a despised democracy; these authoritarians did not realize that they themselves would become Hitler's tools. There are the Protestants who are to a large extent inclined to request a strong authoritarian power in order to keep sinners under control; they often longed for the days identifying the Hohenzollern monarchy with a Christian regime—the few democratic minded Protestants never had a real influence though they had some outstanding representatives. There are the Catholics who defended their influence under the Kaiser Reich with the help of the Center Party and sought to obtain for Catholics a fair share in civil service jobs; after 1918, the Center became the pillar of the Weimar Republic just because it had no pronounced policy of its own and could join the left as well as the right in order to form coalition governments.

There are other Catholics who complain that the Center Party had lost touch with the real Christian federalist tradition and either sided with Prussianism or with the atheistic centralistic socialists. There are the socialists who, accumtomed to play the role of an opposition without responsibility, were afraid, even during the Weimar Republic, to exercise power and were satisfied to play the role of representatives of labor and union interests; but there are those among them who remained doctrinaire Marxists and since they admired the Soviet Union, became communists, only after a more or less short stay to quit in disappointment the ranks of the Moscow henchmen.

Hitler was the man who knew how to flatter, to exploit and to overwhelm all these groups and traditions, turning them against those who claimed to represent them; he accused these timid and cautious party and group leaders of being selfish betrayers and climbers, or representatives of anti-German interests. He was nationalist and Prussian, he was socialist and the admirer of industrial leaders and individualist businessmen, he was for positive Christianity, he was for the masses, for the workers, but also for the élites, he was for the national revolution as well as the German tradition. He appeared as the restorer of German prestige and the creator of new German military power. He had taken away the masses from communism and had established the people's community above and beyond all classes and groups. He was both the leader of the nation to new greatness and the man of the people, who knew from his own experience how the disinherited feel.

Despite all criticism of some of his policies, all disappointments particularly about the bad morality and intellectual poverty of his lieutenants, and about the cynicism and brutality of his methods, he was able to prevent the rise of any organized resistance until the last moment; he made

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his regime appear as identical with the German people and its welfare. Finally, he succeeded in giving to the war he started a national character, even though he had to use the deceiving propaganda of Dr. Goebbels and the threats of an all-permeating terror. The rise of his Third Reich was assisted by a world which was glad to enjoy external peace and security, even at the expense of others, and which was no longer able to recognize the stature of its enemies.

★

AFTER THE Third Reich had collapsed, it seemed that with it German national existence and unity had disintegrated completely. Apathy dominated, nourished and increased by exasperating economic and social conditions, the disintegration of living conditions and communications owing to bombing, the unending stream of refugees, the absence of a large part of the male population which had been taken prisoner or killed in the armed services, and the simple impossibility of grasping what was going on. The unceasing output of propaganda during Hitler's regime had caused the Germans to lose all beliefs in ideals and promises: they cared only about the needs of daily life. This apathy resulted often in a meek subservience towards the occupying authorities. Some Germans expected that the new masters would solve all problems; others assumed that the resistance against them was meaningless; a small but conspicuous part of the population tried to exploit for their own benefit an overzealous friendliness, which sometimes resulted in eager denunciations directed against those who were now regarded as holding an absolute authority.

It seemed as if the Nazis had disappeared completely. Almost everyone claimed that he was never an active and knowing supporter of the regime. He had either been compelled to enter the party and its auxiliary organizations or he had joined it only in order to assure a living for his family; even as party member, as he said, he continued to hold views and to behave as if he were a normal decent citizen who did everything he could to help the victims of Nazi persecution or to sabotage the ruthless policies of the Nazi rulers.

The war was presented simply as having been conducted for the defense of the nation. It was claimed that many horrifying details of Nazi terrorism and extermination policies were not known in details; the vague general knowledge about them was presented only as a means to frighten the German population into obedience and to crush any articulate opposition. Most emphatically it was emphasized that Germans were willing to fight communism. It became popular in many circles to denounce the Nazis as brown Bolsheviks.

I do not think that it is correct to characterize the average German mood in 1945 and 1946 as one dominated by the high expectations of an ideal democratic regime, based on almost perfect justice, which would be introduced particularly by the Anglo-American occupation authorities. The Germans were too sceptical, too disappointed to have such hopes. They expected more efficiency, more knowledge, fewer changes and vacillations in the policies of the Military Government.

★

THE "PUNITIVE" attitude of the occupation did not last too long. The general line of the Western Allies became more and more influenced by the belief that the rebuilding of Germany was the most urgent task. The currency reform of 1948 as well as the deepening disagreements with Soviet policies were the most visible signs of that belief. The German mood started to change. Disappointment and dissatisfaction with the occupiers—as well as with Germans who had taken over in 1945—started to rise; and the newly established parties did not overcome the general political apathy. They were regarded at best as a necessary evil. But even the party leaders—mostly over-aged men who had survived the Nazi regime as remainders of the Weimar Republic—realized that they had to appear as men who opposed existing conditions. They began to emphasize that after all Germany had paid enough by her sufferings after the war, by the misery of masses forced to live in cities destroyed by bombing, by the millions of refugees and expellees, for everything that had been done in the name of Germany by the Nazi regime.

They started to demand more and more self-government. With the exception of small sectarian circles, all talk that Germany had to repent disappeared, and gave way to the thought that after all the Nazi regime was an affair of the past, and was perhaps a poor realization of a fundamentally good idea (to which fanatical exaggerations as, for example, an extreme anti-Semitism had been unnecessarily added); sometimes it was all made to appear as a kind of bad dream for which only a small group of evil men, such as Hitler and Goebbels, were responsible; foreign powers made concessions to these criminals which were never made to normal decent German statesmen.

Now the Nazi era with its horrors has disappeared; why is it necessary to make the whole German people responsible for it? It had paid enough by its own victims and sacrifices. Everybody agrees that those responsible for cruelties and crimes ought to be punished, but that does not mean denazification; for denazification is punishment of those who after all, despite some errors and a regrettable weakness which did not grasp the logic of the totalitarian regime, had fulfilled their duty and had tried to prevent the

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worst by tolerating some bad things which they could not have prevented anyhow.

The opposition against the imposed denazification resulted in its becoming a farce. Leading Nazi supporters were practically acquitted if they managed to delay their trials beyond the first period when the power of the allies inspired some fears and therefore brought about the severe punishment of minor Nazis, more the victims than the responsible actors of the regime. But it would be wrong to regard this opposition as a proof of continuing widespread active sympathies with the Nazi regime. It expressed instead the claim that the German people was not responsible for those who had acted in its name with such terrifying brutality and efficiency for more than a decade and had used the admirable qualities of the Germans—that is, their industry, their meticulousness, their discipline and their capacities as organizers—for most sinister purposes. The victim of denazification—together with his many friends—denied that, though a party member, he was a real Nazi. He did not know; he was compelled; he was deceived by idealistic slogans, by the behavior of traditional authorities; he ignored the general policies of the regime; he did not believe that the program of Hitler was meant seriously; he felt that the other powers were after all fighting not only Hitler but the German Reich and people.

Denazification ended in complete failure. The Nazis only gained sympathies as persecuted victims. A solidarity was created among various kinds of Nazis, and the worst were now able to pretend that there was no difference between them and the more or less harmless party members. Those Germans who sympathized with denazification appeared as jobseekers, as exploiters of German defeat, as dubious characters. The argument was used that it seemed almost impossible to find Germans who had not somehow been compelled to cooperate with the regime—totalitarianism had permeated everything.

★

IT IS A misunderstanding of the prevailing German mood to argue from the failure of denazification, from the rising tendency to criticize the occupation policies—the Americans are presented as wealthy fools, the English as poor fools, the French as weak fools, the Russians as sadistic and barbaric fools—that Nazism is rising again. There may be small sectarian circles which continue to regard Hitler as the great leader who was betrayed by reactionary Junkers and generals; there may be also a widespread tendency among unpolitical masses, particularly women, to remember times when daily life was (to put it mildly) much easier and to overlook the consequences which in the long run the big gambles of Hitler had. But these attitudes are not characteristic of general political trends. Much more representative are the various kinds of reactionary hopes, of longing for the restoration of some forms of the past. It does not matter if this past assumes the shape of the old Bavarian monarchy or of a republic in which moderate socialists will predominate or of a liberal government which establishes prosperity for businessmen, the middle class, and the peasants, and wins back old German frontiers (perhaps, as extremists hope with the addition of some territories destined to be German according to the right of national self-determination). What matters is the attitude which believes that the last decades can be wiped out, that one can jump back into a more distant idealized past and use it as a starting point.

This attitude prevails among many party leaders, though their programs may be very different. They try to utilize traditions and situations which no longer exist. They fail to see that Germany before and after Hitler has gone through a revolution, that problems have arisen which cannot be settled by a policy which believes that old living standards and old attitudes can be reestablished with some minor changes as, for example, the replacement of the predominantly Catholic Center Party by a Protestant-Catholic Christian democratic union. They do not understand that a policy of restoration will be in the long run doomed to failure, that such a policy can only prepare new explosions which will wipe away all the complicated legal safeguards, all the intricacies of constitutional devices and of party politics.

Many Germans realize the unreality of the present situation. They are aware that the present regime is a provisional one, despite all its attempts to appear as the basis for a lasting solution and its support from the outside. But these Germans are today without leadership; they lack men who can express their thoughts and longings. That creates most dangerous possibilities for the future. The younger generation which has no confidence in parties, which regards (rightly or wrongly) Adenauer as well as Schumacher as party bosses who dominate the scene today, but who cannot determine the future, may easily fall victim to errors and illusions. These dreams will not be restorative ones, nourished by pictures of the pre-Hitler days; and though it is not likely that the details of Nazism will be copied, they will be again colored by beliefs in a special German mission of grandeur. It will again be claimed that Germany is not understood, that the others—including such Germans as the men of the Bonn Republic—are not able to solve the problems, that they are incapable of acting, that humanitarian ideas are simply slogans in order

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:o mislead or simply to cover up their own helpessness.

★

MANY WHO HAVE had the opportunity to observe the German younger generation in arious parts of Germany, will admit that the 're-education" has failed completely. The old intitutions and traditions in society and education ıave prevailed, despite some superficial external hanges. And they will be as helpless as they were efore to oppose idealistic-utopian movements nd explosions. They will again become, despite ll criticism and silent opposition, their subserient though involuntary instruments. What is eally frightening in Germany today is the abence of really fundamental changes of mentality mong those who are the leading bureaucratic, arty bosses, officials of various groups and assoations. They are surely moderate and reasonble, despite some rhetorical concessions to the lectorate. But they have remained men without asic independence and courage, without will ower, often very kind men but men who will ot be able to resist or to prevent a tempest.

Nothing is more misleading than to regard ıe German problem as a pure or primarily ecoomic one, to assume that economic recovery will ecessarily establish democracy and that this deocracy will remain always on the side of the enefactors. The German problem is the problem forming an élite which has a sense for polical and social realities, which will oppose both storative attitudes and romantic dreams of ory, sacrifice and superiority. The often very asonable masters of the Weimar Republic did ıt succeed in developing such an élite, and Hit· produced an élite which represented German d human features at their worst, exploiting for il purposes even human virtues widespread ıong Germans.

Today there is a vacuum. The situation is fluid, ything may happen. A new nationalistic fanati egoism can again prevail, a belief that Gerıny can exploit the struggle between East and est for her own purposes, or that unification Europe can only succeed under German overdship; for other peoples are weak, decadent d stupid, at the best naïve, more or less civild barbarians. But there is also the possibility .t the German younger generation will try to rk out responsible answers to the questions ich she asks eagerly and intensively and which not answered by those who believe that nothhas happened in the twentieth century besides ıe regrettable accidents which could have been ily avoided if some ministers had been a little re skillful and competent, and some intrigues l not succeeded.

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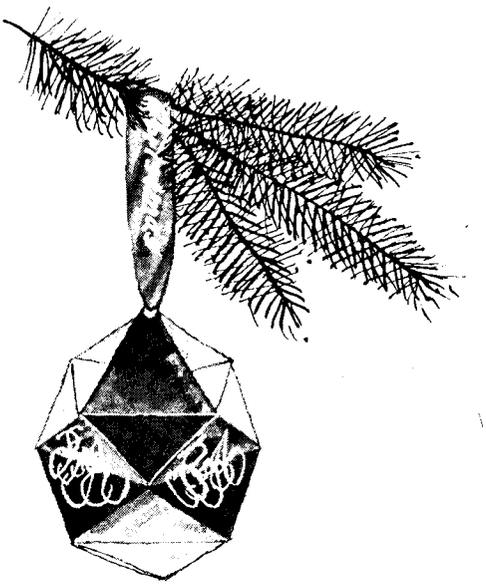

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The Stage & Screen

Regina

THERE ARE so many separate recommendations, and queries, in connection with Marc Blitzstein's musical arrangement of Lillian Hellman's "Little Foxes" that I think it's probably as well to begin with a description of the piece as played—or rather, sung. Quite honestly I cannot recall having seen more talent spread out on any stage. One does not know whether to say that these singers can also act, or that these actors can certainly sing. The ensemble work is superb and in their several roles, Jane Pickens, Priscilla Gillette, Brenda Lewis, and Russell Nype seemed to me remarkable. And I thought them wonderfully well steered about the stage by Robert Lewis's direction, as well as elegantly set by Horace Armistead and admirably dressed by Aline Bernstein. All in all, what you will see on the stage of the Forty-Sixth Street is stunning stuff.

For Mr. Blitzstein's part as composer-adapter, I have both more and less to say. It is surely a long-established fact in this column that I am musically ignorant so that no intelligent analysis of sharps and flats can be forthcoming from me. I did think, however, that the second-act "Rain" quartet was lovely, and all the jazz arrangements seemed to me fine, particularly those chosen for an extraordinary little colored boy called Philip Hepburn. Nevertheless, I have got to admit to two puzzlements on Mr. Blitzstein's score. The first is why he thought it necessary so to "comedy" several of Miss Hellman's most serious characters—those of Ben and Leo in particular? If this were done in the interests of musical relief, I still cannot understand it since the composer has already provided this relief in the Negro song-and-dance sections throughout the piece. And in any case, the lack of "relief" was surely one of the most important reasons for the power and intensity of Miss Hellman's original script. It seems to me that this strange fiddle on the part of Mr. Blitzstein does quite unnecessarily distort Miss Hellman's theme.

★

MY SECOND query is rather more of a conjecture. I rather imagine that the composer and his intrepid producer, Cheryl Crawford, may have been forced for union reasons to call their effort, "A Musical Drama" rather than an opera. Otherwise it is possible, by our American system, that they would have to have hired fifteen or eleven extra oboists for no reason at all. Now, if this guess is true, it will not be the first time that subsidiary people—union people, and advertisers, salesmen—have indirectly attached a false form to a serious work. The situation goes on in the book world constantly and ought to be critically examined and cleared. In this theatre instance, I do think both Miss Crawford and Mr. Blitzstein have lost on their vague subtitle. The business is an opera and ought to be so called. Its value as an experiment lies not at all in the discovery or invention of new means, but only in the translation of material from one form to another. Whether a serious and very important American play can be built into an equally serious and important opera is its real question. As I have admitted above, I am not musically equipped to answer this question and therefore cannot wholly tell whether the experiment is a success, although I can certainly tell that it ought to have been tried, and ought to be tried again.

But the really damaging fact in misnaming this work seems to me to be just this: the resulting puzzlement of the audience. It is perfectly true, I think, that an audience expecting an opera is in a very different frame of mind from one expecting a drama. Such an audience is far more technically conscious, more technically curious. The necessary operatic conventions—recitatives, arrangements of arias, duets, and ensemble numbers in a proper order with respect to the breath of the singers—all this does not bother the opera public at all. And it certainly ought not to bother anyone (even a drama critic) who *expects* to experience an opera. As for those few people who may never have experienced the play upon which this opera is based, nor the excellent movie based in turn upon the play, for these people most of all, it is surely important that nothing misleading should be offered.

"Regina" is then an opera; and an intriguing and exciting one. I think it will deservedly run and I think it should be heard by all the concerned. And barring Mr Blitzstein's unfortunate and partial descent into the comic, I think it is a courageous experiment in musical translation.

KAPPO PHELAN.

Father of the Man

WE ARE FORTUNATE this week in having tw films that handle children well: children as see through the eyes of adults but still remaining childre who will one day become adults. Both of these film however, are good on other scores. *"The Fallen Idol* is in fact such an outstanding film that we wish Car Reed, its producer and director, had met Graham Green its writer, a long time ago. More than practically any the other directors who have turned Greene's stories in movies, he has caught the essence of Greene, his gre pity and understanding for man who, in spite of himsel falls into error. Although "The Fallen Idol" does n have the vitriolic bite, the glimpses into the futu (which show the incomplete man into which this chi will grow) that are in "The Basement Room," the sto from which it stems, it is still a greatly moving film a far from the general run of pap that is usually dish out about children.

This little boy, the son of the French ambassador London, adores the butler in his father's well-run hou and hates the butler's wife, a frustrated martinet. T suddenly while his parents are away, little Felipe is thru into an adult world. He sees, without really understar

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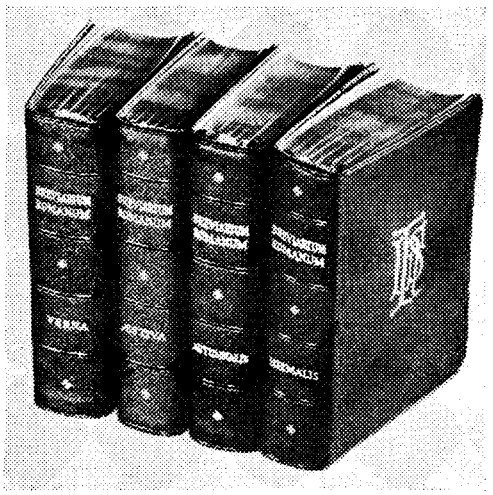

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ing but with glints of growing apprehension, his beloved Baines having an affair with a secretary in the embassy. When Baines' enraged, jealous wife falls from a high ledge in trying to spy on the couple, Felipe quickly lines up with Baines after the police arrive and works so hard to defend his idol that he practically accuses him of murder.

It isn't just the story or the remarkable script by Greene that makes this such a good movie. Applause should also go to Reed for his first-rate direction with its curious understatement and tense build-up of suspense. The whole has a slick, sophisticated tone of the not-too-wholesome life which a little boy is meeting for the first time. Carol Reed has been particularly successful with his cast: Ralph Richardson as the suave, human butler caught between a wife whom he dislikes intensely and an attractive woman whom he loves too much; Michele Morgan as this shy, unhappy secretary; Sonia Dresdel as the mean wife; and several other actors in minor rôles that are so well directed that they add considerably to the whole.

But it is actually Bobby Henrey as the boy who is Director Reed's great triumph. I don't know whether this youngster will prove to be an actor, but in this movie he gives a flawless performance as he conveys the emotions of a child who sees both through his eyes and his mentors' eyes the intricacies of adult life. The suspense in "The Fallen Idol" is terrific, and perhaps it is just as well that the future bitterness in store for Felipe is not suggested by the film as it was in Greene's original story. As it is, the unpleasant aspects of the movie are hard enough to take; but its closing scene softens some of the blows and so does Baines' explanation to Felipe about his wife: "We have no cause to judge . . . perhaps she was what she was just as we are what we are."

*

THE BOY IN *"Intruder in the Dust"* also has many hard lessons to learn and if it were not for the note of hope at the end of this disturbing and good film, we could not stand watching his experiences in the process of growing up. Actually this picture carries the problems of our recent race-prejudice movies one step farther. It even goes so far as to say that Negroes themselves frequently present situations that make the whole prejudice pattern more difficult. The major sin of otherwise blameless Negroes seems to be that sometimes they forget their place and refuse to behave like the white man's conception of a Negro. When Negro Lucas Beauchamp is accused of killing a white man, he refuses to tell what he knows of the murder. He asks the young white boy Chick to go to the cemetery and dig up the murdered man's body, and he asks Chick's uncle to defend him at the trial. But both Chick and his uncle know Lucas will never live to be tried in court as long as the lynch mob works itself up into a frenzy of hate and revenge.

Producer-director Clarence Brown has handled the mob scenes so well in "Intruder in the Dust" that you can hardly bear to watch your fellow-men behave so shamefully. As the men bent on burning, led by the brother of the murdered man, go about their grim business, the on-lookers enter into the spirit of the affair with a carnival glee. The photography, taken almost entirely in Oxford, Mississippi, is realistically stark and embarrassingly cruel. Ben Meadow's well written script, based on William Faulkner's novel, effectively contrasts the melodramatic night episodes (Chick's frightening visit to the cemetery with an elderly white woman and his Negro friend) with the brilliant clear scenes of the growing lynch mob who are waiting for night to come and hide the horrible thing they are planning. It would be unfair to tell the outcome of the plot, because Faulkner's story is a mystery tale as well as a social commentary.

Clarence Brown's direction of the cast is excellent—with Claude Jarman, Jr., portraying Chick as a personification of innocence learning the ways of the world and not liking what he learns and trying desperately not to submit to evil; David Brian as his lawyer-uncle, the voice of experience; Juano Hernandez as the proud Lucas, a Negro who owns his own land and house and intends to preserve his dignity as a man no matter how the white folk sink into error; Elizabeth Patterson as the elderly woman who deplores lynching and is as effective as any of the men in preventing this one; Will Geer as the sheriff; Charles Kemper as the lynch leader, the villain of the affair. But so are all the lynch participants the villains. And when Chick and his uncle watch them dispersing later, the man explains to the boy that they are running away from themselves; but as long as some of us don't run away, the problem will one day be solved.

Much is left unsaid in "Intruder in the Dust," but it is a remarkable film for what it does say. Audiences seeking only a mystery thriller can find it in this movie, while those who prefer a strong theme of social consciousness will find that, too, in this picture about a boy who learns the hard way to take a stand against evil and to fight it at its roots.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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At Christmastime readers may like to have at hand names and addresses where food and clothing packages are still needed. CARE and SAFE are agencies for sending standard packages. We have had recent appeals from:

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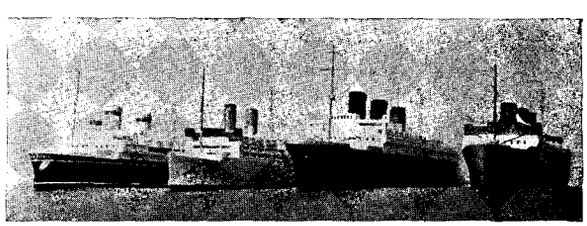

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Neuter Would Be Better

LEO J. TRESE

THERE is no such thing, absolutely speaking, as an objective scientist. In fact, there is no such thing as a completely objective anybody, whether it be scientist, theologian, historian or philosopher. Objectivity is an ideal at which a scholar may aim, as many sincerely do. But no one can completely escape, or abstract from, the patterns of thought, of belief (or unbelief), of ethics, of culture, that have gone into the process of his intellectual maturing and have become a part of his integral personality.

In science he comes closest to objectivity who is content to gather facts, and to present them without conclusions, without application. Admittedly it is in the drawing of conclusions that subjectivity—the whole sum of what one is—wields the most inexorable pressure. Yet even in the gathering of facts, there is no de-personalizing process which can guarantee against prejudgment. Decisions constantly must be made as to what is established and what is still doubtful; what is evident, and what is only apparent; what is to be accepted, and what is to be cast aside as irrelevant; in what area facts are to be gathered, and what areas may safely be ignored.

A sociologist, for example, may confine his investigations to a certain cultural group or groups, and present facts to indicate that all American men are sexually promiscuous. Or a paleontologist may in all honesty exhibit his patiently reconstructed fossils in such fashion as to make the progressive evolution of all life practically an inescapable corollary.

★

STRANGELY enough, it is the Catholic scientist, the very one who normally is the one most suspect in the matter of prejudice, who actually has the widest latitude in the pursuit of knowledge. When observable fact may seem to conflict with what he holds to be divinely revealed, his faith does not say to him: back up, look in the other direction, you're getting on dangerous ground. Rather, if his faith be the faith of a Pasteur, it tells him: go ahead, investigate further, gather more data, you can't stop now. Because he knows that no truth of the natural order can ever contradict the truths of revelation to which he holds, since truth is one in its very source.

The fact is that it is the "intellectually liberated" scientist who most often is hard pressed in the interpretation of his facts, who most often must do violence to intelligence in fitting observed phenomena into the pattern of his thinking. This handicap is more than once exemplified in the latest book of Margaret Mead: *Male and Female. A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World.*

Father Leo J. Trese is pastor of Saint Patrick's Church in Carleton, Michigan, and is director of the Rural Life Movement in the Archdiocese of Detroit.

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Morrow. $5.00. According to Dr. Mead, the effort of the mystic to achieve contemplation is a subconscious yearning for the effortless peace of his mother's womb. The existence of monasteries is explained by the subconscious desire of men to escape having to provide food for a wife and family. Nuns enter convents to escape the social pressure which dictates that women should bear children. All of which recalls Arnold Lunn's confession that while he did encounter intellectual difficulties in becoming a Catholic, they were not nearly so great as his intellectual difficulties would have been in *not* becoming a Catholic.

This is not to say that Miss Mead is anti-Catholic in her latest publication. She manifestly goes out of her way to be fair to Catholic thought in such matters as divorce and craniotomy. Nor is it to belittle her stature as a scientist. She is an anthropologist who has acquired her facts the hard way—by months on end spent in discomfort among primitive peoples, observing their customs, their *tabus,* their culture. But since her book is not confined to observed data, but is heavy with dogma as well, it needs pointing out that she builds on the assumption that the human being is a highly developed animal, and nothing more. It is the "nothing more," that irritates at times the Christian reader. The theory of the Unconscious can be fitted into the system of scholastic philosophy; the theory of evolution is not inconsistent with belief in a Creator Who made Adam and Eve by breathing a spiritual soul into the bodies of two primates. But the bland assumption, for example, that marriage began when a male ape first shared his food with his mate, is a personalized assumption far outside the realm of genuine science.

*

HOWEVER, having alerted one's eye to the subjective element, Dr. Mead's book makes interesting reading. She writes well, with a minimum of professional jargon. While she is an unquestioned authority in her own field of anthropology, she brings to her writing a gift for human interest and practical observation that makes her a popularizer of science in the best sense of the word. She has something, definitely, when she scolds American parents for teaching their children to call an eye an eye and a mouth a mouth, without teaching them also to call a penis a penis or a vulva a vulva.

While *Male and Female* is divided mechanically into five parts, its content actually falls into two categories: what Dr. Mead has observed among seven disparate South Sea peoples; and what she thinks are the problems—and their solutions—of sex in the American scene. Particularly good is her chapter on "Precourtship Behavior and Sex Demands," in which she analyzes, as an anthropologist, the institution of "petting," and points out its repercussions in later marriage. Equally good is the chapter entitled, "Each Family in a Home of its Own" wherein she traces, from the American mania for independence and self-sustenance, the modern urban home devoid of all dependent relatives, wherein the mother,

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surrounded by labor-saving devices, spends eighty hours a week in house-keeping activities, as against sixty hours a week for the mother on a farm.

Interesting as it is, and useful as it may be as an approach to some of our specific social problems, Margaret Mead's book does make this business of being male or female sound pretty grim and complicated. To the average man or woman, accustomed to taking sex for granted, either as the precious gift of God which it is, or as a tool for casual physical pleasure which it is not—to such a one, reading *Male and Female* is apt to have an effect analagous to seeing the motor of one's car for the first time disassembled on a garage floor. Since it is part of God's plan, sex *must* be for the best, despite all the harassments that Dr. Mead discloses. Otherwise, as we close her book, we might be tempted to wish that we all had been grown on trees.

Season's Books

Biography

Desert Calling. Anne Fremantle. Holt. $4.00.

THE remarkable life of Father Charles de Foucauld, who followed a strange and lonely vocation that led from the sophisticated salons of polite French society to a Trappist monastery, thence to an unconventional and mysterious missionary apostolate in the North African deserts. Father de Foucauld, whose cause for beatification has been introduced in Rome, was a challenging figure: priest, missionary, mystic, hero of the whole French nation; Anne Fremantle, a discriminating and sensitive writer, was equal to the difficult task.

The Thread That Runs So True. Jesse Stuart. Scribners. $3.00.

THE quietly moving story of a man who believes passionately in the power of education and who at 17 began to fight the good fight in the backwoods Kentucky classrooms. Jesse Stuart, who can write warmly and at times lyrically of simple people and places, tells his own story with an infectious enthusiasm for the heroic and too often unsung vocation of the dedicated teacher.

W. B. Yeats: Man and Poet. A. Norman Jeffares. Yale. $5.00.

THE author paints a somewhat flattering portrait of the talented Irish poet. New material in the book includes a heretofore unpublished draft of Yeats' autobiography and some self-revealing letters to a Mrs. Olivia Shakespeare who, it seems, played a part in the poet's life not previously explored.

Stalin. Isaac Deutscher. Oxford. $5.00.

MR. DEUTSCHER calls his book a "political biography." Always objective but never coldly detached, the author assembles all the known facts about the man who is popularly thought to be the central and most maddening mystery in the puzzle which is wrapped in an enigma. The book is a serious, thoughtful attempt to assess Stalin's place in the revolution and in the turbulent history of the last decade. The first of a trilogy which will include volumes on Lenin and Trotsky, now in preparation.

The Strange Life of August Strindberg. Elizabeth Sprigge. Macmillan. $3.50.

THE melancholy Swedish poet and dramatist was an ambiguous figure: something of a charlatan but a charlatan with a genuine pull toward mysticism. The author has concentrated her study on the man himself rather than on his literary work. What criticism she does attempt is vague and uncertain. Miss Sprigge does well in analyzing a literary genius considerably more difficult than most.

Father Flanagan of Boys Town. Fulton Oursler and Will Oursler. Doubleday. $3.00.

A MOVING account of the famous priest who, after a discouraging early experience with the men on Omaha's Skid Row, was drawn to the plight of abandoned boys. A fictionalized version of Father Flanagan's story made a very successful movie a few years ago. The prolific Ourslers here present a straight factual history of the man that is every bit as dramatic.

Parson Austen's Daughter. Helen Ashton. Dodd Mead. $3.00. *Jane Austen. Elizabeth Jenkins. Pellegrini and Cudahy.* $4.00. *Pemberley Shades. D. A. Bonavia-Hunt. Dutton.* $3.00. *More About Jane Austen. Sheila Kaye-Smith and G. B. Stern. Harper.* $3.50.

THIS, it seems, is Jane Austen's year. Inveterate Janeites will find a real feast in this imposing collection of volumes, all published this season. Beginners have here a good start.

A Sort of a Saga. Bill Mauldin. Sloane. $3.50.

AN engagingly written account of the Tom Sawyer-ish boybood of the wartime G.I.'s favorite Angry Man.

Life of Audubon. Clyde Fisher. Harper. $2.50.

THE life of the great American naturalist, written in a style that should appeal to young and old alike and beautifully illustrated with more than 70 reproductions of Audubon's own bird-studies, 20 odd of them in full color.

Stafford Cripps: Master Statesman. Eric Estorick. John Day. $5.00.

THE choice of title gives a fairly clear idea of the author's own evaluation of a controversial contemporary figure. As biography the book is somewhat plodding and superficial. But it has value as a fact-filled source-book on the career of a man who made yesterday's headlines and will certainly deserve a page in tomorrow's textbooks.

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John L. Lewis—An Unauthorized Biography. Saul Alinsky. Putnam. $4.00.

AN entertaining and skillfully written life of the miners' great John L. The author is a friend and at times woefully uncritical admirer of Mr. Lewis. At times he shows a lamentable lack of objectivity in the emphasis, evaluation and coloring of his study which may lead some readers to tear their hair out. Others, willing to do their own weighing and coloring, will find new insights into the life and character of a man who for better or worse has loomed large on the American scene for a long time now, and promises to loom just as large as long as there is breath left in him.

Politics

The Struggle for Germany. Drew Middleton. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.00.

A DIVIDED Germany, it is agreed, must be put back together again. Whoever does it, Russia or the West, will control all Europe, as well as Germany. That is what the contest in Germany is all about, says Mr. Middleton objectively and unemotionally, and he warns that this is a contest "we dare not lose."

The Vital Center. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Houghton. $3.00.

BIDDING everyone of a genuinely democratic bent to rally to the center, where democracy today is caught in a Left-Right pincers, Mr. Schlesinger argues that this third, or middle, force, composed of various and sometimes conflicting ideologies, can get on harmoniously enough to save a common ideal.

St. Thomas and the World State. Robert M. Hutchins. Marquette University Press. $1.50.

ENLISTING St. Thomas in support of world government, Mr. Hutchins, in Marquette University's Aquinas lecture of 1949, says convincingly that, although St. Thomas nowhere talked about a world state in so many words, his idea of the state was evolutionary, inasmuch as he recognized "that changing conditions might make thoroughly unsatisfactory a form of political organization that was once adequate to man's needs." The argument is: "Because of the fallen state of human nature divine law and natural law are not enough to produce the unity of peace. Political organization requires positive law. The political organization of the world community would require positive law on a world scale."

The Pilgrimage of Western Man. Stringfellow Barr. Harcourt. $4.00.

TRACING the main events in the history of Western culture from medieval to modern times, Mr. Barr takes, as his vantage for viewing all this history, man's attempt, from time to time, to make one community out of as much of the world as he knows. Without slanting the facts too much, the author presents a persuasive case for what seems the inevitable end to this Western pilgrimage: world government.

NOTHING IS SO NICE

as unexpected praise or praise from an unexpected source. When Thomas Merton wrote to **Lucile Hasley,** author of **REPROACHFULLY YOURS** ($2.25) "Your book is being read in the refectory here to the intense joy of 200 Trappists. I am acquiring great prestige by going around the monastery making the following Trappist signs: 'Me-know-dame-write-eat-house-book. Big-friend.' God bless you" we were enchanted; when Dorothy Dix (yes, *the* Dorothy Dix) said of **Mary Perkins' MIND THE BABY** ($2) "It is a volume that should be kept on the bookshelf next to the Bible itself," we loved Miss Dix and all the world besides. When Sister Madeleva wrote to us about **THREE MYSTICS:** St. John of the Cross, St. Teresa and El Greco ($7.50) "It is a book of rare beauty and rarer spirituality. . . . I wonder who, besides Sheed & Ward, would have published a book of such magnificence and magnitude" we collapsed, blushing prettily, and when a Presbyterian Minister, Dr. Ficke of Dubuque University, said of **Father Heenan's THEY MADE ME SIGN** ($2) that it ought to be "in the hands of every Protestant minister" we sat back and purred.

Nothing would please us more than to continue like this indefinitely, but we've run out of this sort of lovely surprise. Doubtless there have been some wonderful things said of **COLLECTED LETTERS OF ST. THERESE OF LISIEUX** ($3.75) but not in this world, and we aren't in a position to overhear the congratulations of St. Therese's heavenly friends on her correspondence being published. We've little doubt, though, that in heaven this is regarded as the Book of the Century—not even once in a hundred years does the complete correspondence of a great saint become available to all the world. We fancy that **Mr. Sheed's** anthology of saints, **SAINTS ARE NOT SAD** ($3.75) also pleases heaven: we hope the forty saints assembled in it are taking an interest—all too easily we can imagine them pointing out misprints to each other. (Well, saints are human, aren't they?)

But of all the comments on any book the one we really like best is "Ooh!" especially when it is said with the expression of a child who sees a new kind of ice cream coming up. We've heard it a gratifying number of times lately: it seems to be the natural reaction of grown-ups to the **Knox LATIN-ENGLISH MISSAL.** . . . We have already sold more of this than we expected to sell before Christmas, but it is still in stock, thank goodness. Ask to see it at your booksellers' and carry on dreadfully if he hasn't got it. The Christmas **Trumpet** is ready. Ask Lucy MacGill for it.

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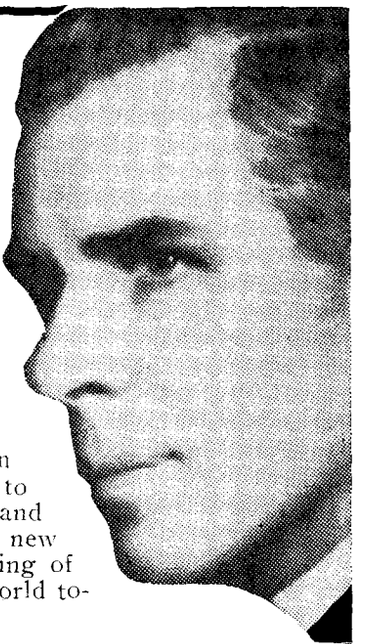

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Roosevelt and the Russians: The Yalta Conference. Ed-R. Stettinius, Jr. Doubleday. $4.00.

A DEFENSE case for Mr. Roosevelt's handling of the Yalta agreement. His Secretary of State at the time, the late Mr. Stettinius, presents the conference, unconvincingly, as "on the whole a diplomatic triumph for the United States and Great Britain."

Promise and Fulfillment. Palestine 1917-1949. *Arthur Koestler. Macmillan.* $4.00.

A HISTORY and evaluation of the new state of Israel. The book is in three parts: Background, recounting the events leading up to the formation of the state; Close-up, composed of extracts from Koestler's diary as a war correspondent in Palestine; and Perspective, looking ahead to the future state of things in Israel.

Conservatism Revisited. Peter Viereck. Scribner's. $2.50.

REVIEWING Metternich's career as the chief architect of the Concert of Europe, the author distinguishes between reaction and conservatism, saying that "the core and fire-center of conservatism . . . is a humanist reverence for the dignity of the individual soul." Almost any militant liberal, considering himself an even better defender of individual dignity, would, of course, fight him for this title of champion humanist.

Fiction

Under the Sun of Satan. Georges Bernanos. Translated by Harry Lorin Binsse. Pantheon. $3.00.

AN excellent new translation of a tremendously profound and Christian novel.

A Sea Change. Nigel Dennis. Houghton. $3.50.

A SAVAGE ridiculing of American "liberal" journalism. It is an occasionally sordid, if consistently rich satire.

The Mudlark. Theodore Bonnet. Doubleday. $3.00.

A NOVEL of Victorian England centered on the adventures of a young man of eight who falls into Queen Victoria's Windsor Castle through the coal chute.

Knght's Gambit. William Faulkner. Random House. $2.75.

A SET of stories about a Yoknapatawpha (Miss.) county attorney. Mostly, they are melodramatic detective-story episodes, but the real knowledge and profundity of William Faulkner occasionally makes itself known and then you've got something.

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The Golden Apples. Eudora Welty. Harcourt. $3.00.

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Catholic Radicalism. Peter Maurin. The Catholic Worker (115 *Mott Street, New York, N. Y.*). $1.00.

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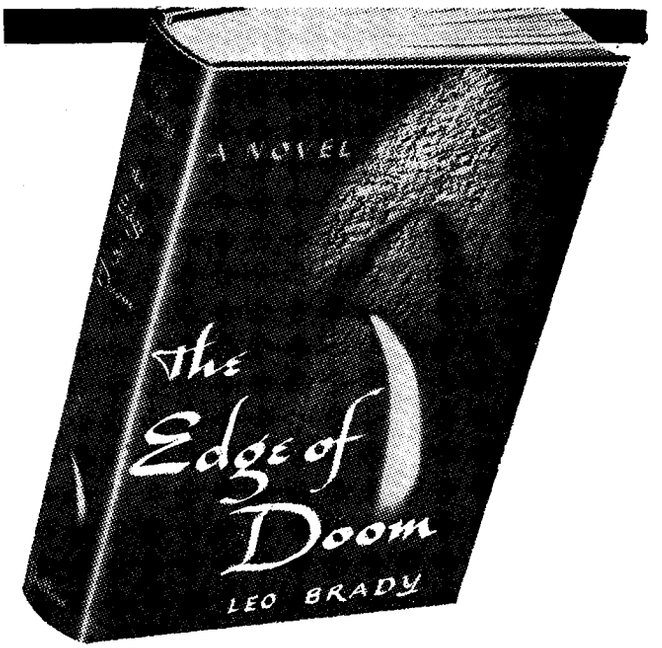

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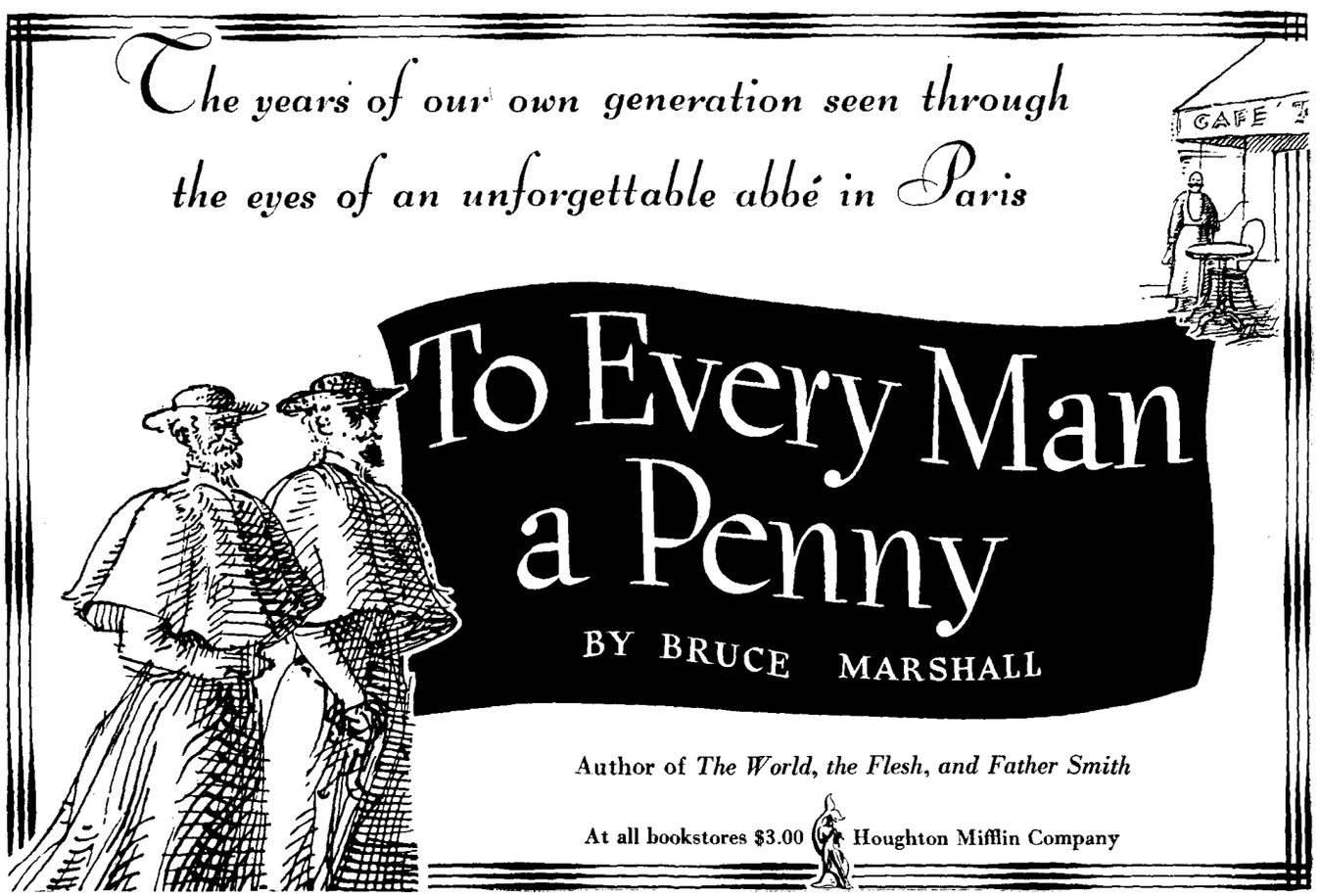
Trade Unions in the New Society. Harold J. Laski. Viking. $3.00.

THE latest of Harold Laski's books is less an analysis of unionism than a tract exhorting American labor to establish a new political party on a clear-cut trade union basis. He says little that he has not said before and said more effectively, but along the way he manages to exhibit several of his characteristically provocative ideas.

The government, he avers, is seldom a neutral arbiter between capital and labor. When it intervenes in a critical strike its avowed purpose is to protect the public. But since its first tactic is to end the strike, a move that strengthens management's bargaining position, the public that it is protecting invariably turns out to be the employer. Moreover, the courts, which have been involved in labor disputes for generations, have shown a marked tendency to interpret the same law to favor aggregations of capital and simultaneously to penalize aggregations of men.

Unfortunately, in his zeal to make this point, Mr. Laski skips lightly by any contradictory evidence. He recognizes the gains made by labor under the New Deal, but dismisses them with a passing nod, because he fears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that they are ephemeral things, only too likely to wither away under the impact of war or depression or even a change in the presidency or in the composition of the Supreme Court. He dwells on President Truman's methods of ending the 1946 railroad strike, on the government seizure of the coal mines, and on Judge Goldsborough's resultant fine of John L. Lewis for contempt. It is unlikely that he would accord even footnote space to Mr. Truman's refusal to intervene in the recently settled steel strike. Nor does he offer any practical solution to the very real problem of protecting the community from the consequences of a protracted labor-management dispute.

In another jab at accepted policy, Mr. Laski argues that attempts to oust Communists from trade union membership will merely divide and weaken labor. Unions have too much to fear from techniques of repression to set a precedent in their use. Although both British and American labor leaders, when confronted with the divided loyalties of Communist members, have resorted to expulsion, Mr. Laski believes that the democratization of union leadership, coupled with a greater participation in union activities by all members, would relegate the Communists to the minor position their numbers deserve.

Much of this is worth listening to, although one may wish that it were said with less exaggeration of the threats to labor and less simplification of the problems involved. But the basic tenet of the book is essentially unsound. The prescription of an American Labor Party as a remedy for all our national ills (differing from its British counterpart, if at all, in the omission of the letter "u"), involves the equating of two vastly dissimilar political environments. Our country is not a small homogeneous island, but a diverse continent with deep-rooted sectional differences. Capital and labor are not the only two forces vying for power: consider only the farming groups, whose interests differ not only from the others but widely among themselves, and Mr. Laski's oversimplification becomes readily apparent.

Moreover, granted that our parties do not offer clear-cut alternatives of principle or class basis (and thereby outrage the author's sense of order and rationality), by their very similarity they avoid the tensions and cleavages of European politics. Concession involves no renunciation of principle, and compromise is facilitated. Mr. Laski himself once feared that the election of a Labor Government in Britain would mean civil war. The American system, with all its inconsistencies, combines the advantages of stability with a clear enough choice to translate popular sentiment for change into the desired channels.

American labor has recognized that political action is necessary, but that the technique of separate partyhood would merely isolate it from effective political participation. One could wish that the late Sidney Hillman, organizer of labor's most successful pressure group, the CIO Political Action Committee, and the man to whom this volume is dedicated, were able to answer back.

CAROL H. WEISS.

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Stories of Our Century by Catholic Authors. Edited by John Gilland Brunini and Francis X. Connolly. Lippincott. $3.00.

A GREAT deal of intelligent editing and arranging is evident in this collection of twenty-five short stories by Catholic authors of this century. Limited to work written in English, the selections are not only by authors of many different cultural and social backgrounds but they also maintain, true to the editors' prefatorial promise, a high level of literary craftsmanship.

Most of the stories are refreshingly short and when taken together display a wide variety of short fiction forms. Their authors include such excellent writers as Evelyn Waugh, Sean O'Faolain, Bruce Marshall, Graham Greene, J. F. Powers, Harry Sylvester, Heywood Broun, Maurice Baring and G. K. Chesterton. Many of the pieces first appeared in such diverse publications as THE COMMONWEAL, *Saturday Evening Post, New Yorker* and *Sign*.

One of the longer stories is by Harry Sylvester, whose *Moon Gaffney* and later controversial article in the *Atlantic Monthly* on the problems of the Catholic writer gained for him considerable notoriety in Catholic literary circles. His "Sense of Participation," in this volume, is the wartime story of a man who, in attempting to gain a sense of participation in the war effort, is brought to a greater realization of the "aloneness" of human existence, the unsharable quality of life. Many readers will be prompted to look once again at Sylvester's volume of short stories, *All Your Idols,* from which it was taken.

Not everyone will agree with the somewhat worn remarks in the preface concerning a "Catholic literary revival" and "renaissance." Certainly the evidence to substantiate such remarks, though far greater now than thirty years ago, still is not overwhelming. Perhaps it would be better to preserve these congenial phrases for a period of truly vigorous literary activity on the part of Catholics; for the time when it shall have become physically impossible to publish, in one volume, a comprehensive and eminently satisfactory collection of the work of fifty years of Catholic authorship.

JAMES J. WEY.

Melville. Goeffrey Stone. Sheed & Ward. $4.50.
Herman Melville. Richard Chase. Macmillan. $4.50.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago Raymond Weaver described Melville's soul as "a vast dark forest." That forest is much frequented in an age preoccupied with sick souls, but its paths have not yet been made plain, for those who venture into the forest return with accounts which vary as widely as the views they carried with them. And so the vastness and the darkness of the forest grow greater instead of less with most of the new studies of Melville.

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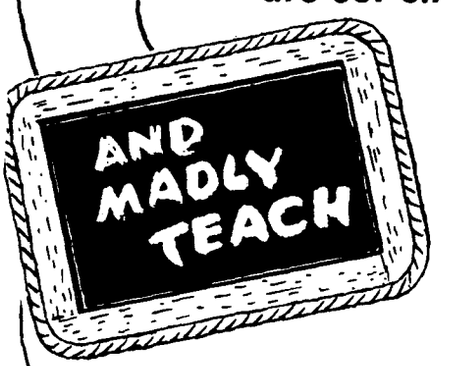

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source of Melville's artistic failures and personal difficulties in "a partly Calvinist, partly Romantic attitude of mind," which nonetheless provided the subject matter of his greatest achievement, *Moby Dick*. To Mr. Stone Melville was neither the mystic nor the metaphysician that some admirers have seen in him, but an artist who struggled throughout a tormented existence to work out in terms of his own personality the Manichaean problem which obsessed him. With sympathy and understanding Mr. Stone traces Melville's artistic and intellectual development, correlating biography and criticism in a book which makes an admirable introduction for those unfamiliar with the subject and which also offers an interpretation that specialists may find challenging.

Richard Chase's critical study is a far more specialized book than Mr. Stone's, though less rewarding for all its delvings on deeper levels. He sees Melville as one of the fathers of a "new liberalism" of the 1940's—"that newly invigorated secular thought at the dark center of the twentieth century." As Mr. Stone emphasizes the religious problem in Melville, so Mr. Chase does the political one, with far less warrant from the record. He strains rather desperately to relate Melville's problems to those of the present, while using his author to belabor the old progressive-liberalism on which he has declared war. Though he censures the academic fallacy of making an artist into a would-be philosopher, he falls himself into the fallacy of making the artist a political thinker. Mr. Chase, who professes to be a skeptical humanist, is primarily concerned, however, with Melville's images, symbols, ideas, and moral attitudes; and he carries his Freudian hunt for hidden meanings to lengths which would have dismayed the most pedantic medieval commentator. The display of intellectual acrobatics is often dazzling, always relentless—stopping short neither of blasphemy nor of indecency—but seldom rewarding, for the text tends to be lost in the commentary, and the intricate problem of Melville the man is further confused rather than clarified. This is a book for Melville specialists and for those with a morbid interest in the lengths of "scientific" obscurity to which fashionable literary criticism can be carried today.

MASON WADE.

The Greenroom. Hamilton Basso. Doubleday. $3.00.

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FLORENCE CODMAN.

The Romantic Imagination. C. M. Bowra. Harvard. $4.50.

MR. BOWRA, Warden of Wadham College and Professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford, gave this series of lectures during the 1948-1949 school year when he was Charles Eliot Norton Professor of Poetry at Harvard University.

Professor Bowra wrote these essays, although he is not "an expert or even a scholar" on the subject of Romanticism, because of previous unjust treatments. He has attempted (in most cases by an exegesis of one important poem) to describe the particular shape which several Romantic poets assumed as they impressed their philosophies on their poetry.

Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Byron, Pope, the Rossettis and Swinburne are the poets whom the author uses to illustrate the various expressions of the imagination, the highest, most divine faculty according to the Romantic concept. He indicates how, in different degrees, these people objected to strict rational

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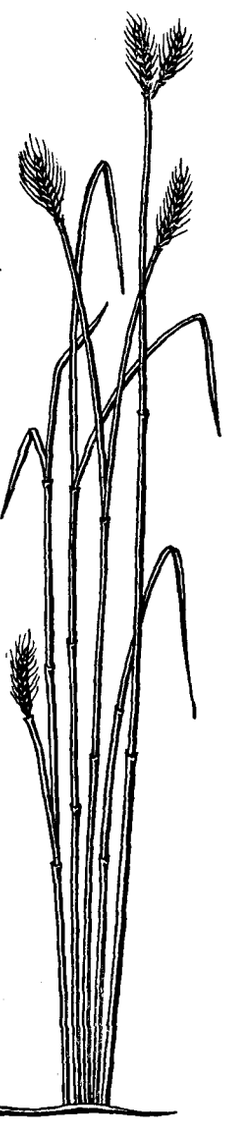

Father Merton's earlier volumes of poetry, *A Man in the Divided Sea* ($2.50) & *Figures For An Apocalypse* ($2.50) are also available from New Directions, Norfolk, Conn.

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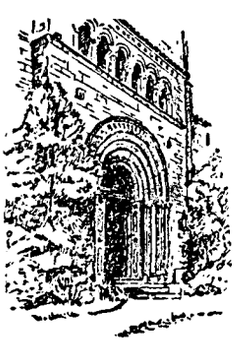

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processes and limited cerebrations, and how they sought to penetrate beyond the changing visible world to the real world of spirit.

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There is not much in this book which has not been said before. At times Mr. Bowra does not seem quite convinced that what he says is true, and, at times, he appears to defeat his own thesis. For example, if one wished to destroy the notion of Coleridge as a poet, one might easily quote the same lines used by Mr. Bowra in praise of Coleridge.

At best, the exegetical method strikes a pedantic tone, but when the professional phrase "he could not but . . ." is used repeatedly in connection with it the effect is deadly. There is also a lapsing into words like "lofty," and "majestic," those ciphers from Survey of Literature courses. Some of the observations about the possible sources of Keats' *Ode to a Grecian Urn* sound like pages from Joyce's satiric section on the academic style. All in all, this is a middling version of the Romantic temperament in a middling, antiquarian tone.

GEORGE MILES.

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THIS short novel deals with rural Ireland in the O'Faolain manner. It presents the aspirations and frustration of a young man as a juxtaposition of poetic sentiment with a rude and dreary way of living. There is something very genuine about the author's incursions into the mind and feelings of disenchanted Tarry Flynn, although Tarry's mother and other stormy characters he encounters fail to engender the same morbid fascination as he succeeds in doing.

Correction: The November 25 issue of THE COMMONWEAL *was marked number 6, volume 51. It was actually number 7, volume 51.*

• REVIEWERS •

Carol H. WEISS recently received a master's degree in political science from Columbia University.

James J. WEY, of Painesville, Ohio, is a graduate student at Catholic University.

Mason WADE is an historian whose latest work is *The Journals of Francis Parkman.*

Florence CODMAN, formerly a member of a publishing firm in New York, contributes literary criticism to several periodicals.

George MILES, a graduate of the University of Notre Dame, lives on Long Island.

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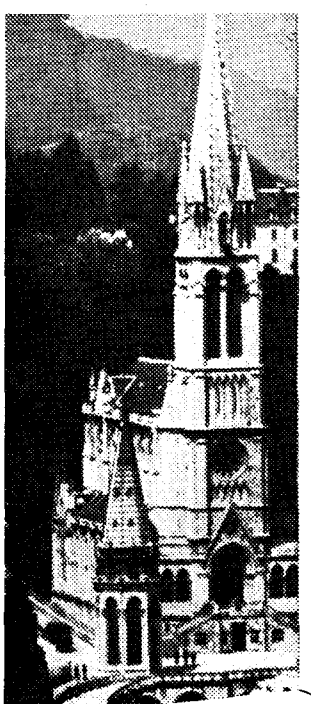

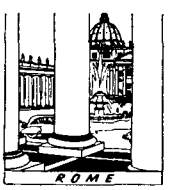

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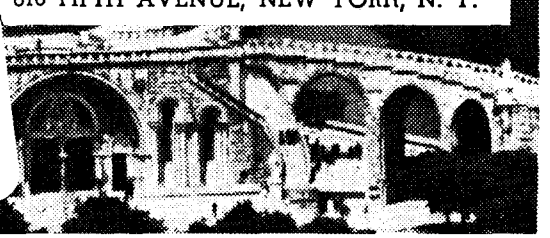

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